1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

(3) Marriage by forcible application of vermilion, (4) Intrusion, (5) Widow.[1] 583

In discussing marriage with the Kols of Central India it was generally found that they recognized only one type of marriage. When asked about the remarriage of widows, they would say "yes", but indicated that while widows could remarry this was nevertheless a concession. A woman, they say, may be truly married but once; a man may be married several times. They know of the intrusion marriage (*Ghar baita*), and one of the stories in connection with the *kurhis* illustrated that form,[2] but it occurs very seldom. A Kolin may go and live as a servant in the house of a man she wants to marry. The man may take her to be his wife, but there is in this case no formal marriage ceremony; nevertheless he must feast the *panchayat* as a penalty. Kols claim that while they have heard of the *sendur* marriage, where the red mark is forcibly applied to the girl's head by her lover in some public place where it can be witnessed, they do not know that it has ever happened among the Kols. At least they professed ignorance of such an occurrence. The known types of marriage, including the elopement marriage which frequently occurs, are dealt with below.

FORMS OF MARRIAGE PRACTISED BY KOLS: 1. *The Elopement Marriage* (*Bhagal*). This type of marriage may take two forms with variations in each. The first type is the least binding and has no recognized standing. If there should be a love match between a couple in the same village or a nearby village, who, because of parental opposition cannot easily be married, and no commitments have been made by the parents on either side to any other arrangement, the couple may decide to go off secretly together. They may go to some friendly relative's home in another village or perhaps will put up a grass hut in which they begin to live and thus start life as man and wife. The young man puts ten black bangles on the girl's wrists, some *sendur* on her forehead, and she is reckoned as his wife. Later on, should the young couple want to return to the village they may be allowed to live there provided that they give a feast as directed by the *panch*. It is unusual, however, that they get off so easily. However, if the young couple who elope are within prohibited degrees of relationship or if they are not of the same *kurhi* they cannot be received back into the community and must become virtual outcastes from those who know them. They will probably be forced to [587] [581] [357] [835] [626]

1 Roy, S. C., *The Kharias*, p. 239.

2 See pages 38, 39.